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THE
INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

OF
LORD CANNING,

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1862.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF EARL CANNING.

AFTER an absence of more than six years, the present Governor General of India returns to his native land, to play it may be expected no undistinguished part on the field of European politics, though he can never expect, or even wish to be involved in affairs of such vast and painful importance as those which have engaged his attention in the East. If he cares for an immortality of remembrance his wish is sure to be realised. His name will survive when his acts have long been forgotten. Erostratus is not more indelibly associated with the destruction of the Temple of Diana, than Lord Canning will be with the massacre of Cawnpore, and the extinction of the House of Timor. We propose to touch upon the salient points of his career, and enter on the task with a desire to do him full justice. The writer in such a case must be like the photographer, and reproduce the faces of things as he finds them without reference to their beauty or deformity. Facts, like features will not bear to be distorted.

History will claim to record no portion of his Lordship's Administration, prior to the outburst of the great Sepoy Revolt, the era at which our review commences.

Lord Canning is not to be blamed for the fact of the Mutiny having occurred, nor for his inability to discern the signs of its near approach in the early months of 1857. The advisers upon whom he had been compelled to rely during the first year of his rule had no fears of impending calamity, and unless he had been gifted with rare sagacity, and an intuitive knowledge of human nature as it is found in the East, he could scarcely be expected to have an inkling of what was in store for himself and the empire. But the evils justly chargeable to his administration, were a total want of power to understand the character of the events as they were developed around him and a disinclination to place reliance in men who had the capacity and the will to do essential service to the State. He could not be made to see with his own eyes and declined to use those of others.

It is true that the individual is often wiser than the multitude, and time may justify all his opposition to the popular wish, but when a ruler is at the same hour isolated and unsuccessful, when he neither comprehends the policy of others nor has the ability to carry out projects of his own, it goes hard with the governed and the governor. To have too much conscience to follow, whilst possessed of too little ability to lead the multitude, is a calamity only to be measured by the area of personal influence, and the greatness of the emergency which demands its exercise.

War, pestilence, or famine, can only effect to a very small extent *all* classes of the community, and those whose lot it is to suffer and those whose duty it is to succour and guide, may receive but scant appreciation of their ability and good service, but an occurrence like the Sepoy Revolt, came home to the business and bosom of every member of the dominant nation. It was a war of races, a struggle for bare life, in the issue of which each man, woman and child of European parentage were involved. A period of such supreme and universal peril was sure, not merely to strengthen the hands of authority, but to vest it with absolute control over the power and the resources of the community. To fight, as Englishmen are accustomed to fight, when hearths are threatened and wives are in danger, would be nothing. Our people as of old, would want to offer sacrifices to the principle which Nelson deified and Wellington worshipped, under the name of *Duty*. Believe that landsmen, in imminent danger of shipwreck will refuse to obey the pilot whose skill alone can save them; believe that the patient just hovering on the confines of two worlds, and longing again to get a firm footing on earth will decline the cup that holds the sovereign remedy—and still you would be obliged to conclude, that in June, 1857, a Governor General of British India had it in his power to enlist on his side the sympathy and the aid of every Englishman. That the opposite result was almost universally produced and that as the

sense of danger became more imminent, the feeling of estrangement grew still stronger and more defined, are facts that cannot be disputed, and for which we have to account on the present occasion.

The consciousness of impending peril is an instinct which we share in common with the meaner animals, and during the six weeks next following the outbreak of the Mutiny it had entire possession of the public mind. Lord Canning only fully succumbed to it a month after the news first reached him, and the story of his calmness and courage during the interval, was told with great effect at home, as a proof of his superiority, but in truth, the calmness was merely that of the man who rides in the dark on the edge of a precipice. The moment that he thoroughly apprehended the character of the situation, he took all the precautions for his personal safety that a rational prudence could suggest. He disarmed the sepoys on duty at Government House, and took away the swords of his Body Guard, the veterans who wore on their breasts the Bronze Star of Maharajpore, and the decorations granted for the first campaign in the Punjab. The confidence in the power of proclamations, the scorn of aid from without the official pale, were no longer visible after the fourteenth of June 1857, but at what cost had such feelings been indulged? England paid for them with the massacre of Cawnpore, and the horrors of the siege of Lucknow. In all human probability, thousands of our best lives and vast sums of treasure were squandered as a consequence of that ignorance, which we chose to term "calmness" and the apathy which we misnamed "courage," but there is no fact better authenticated in the whole range of history, than this, that ample time and means were given for the relief of both Lawrence and Wheeler, had the crisis been—we will not say fully understood, but dealt with in a common sense way. Had the offer of the inhabitants of Calcutta to raise both horse and foot for the defence of the city been accepted, and the troops kept at the presidencies been pushed up country as fast as they arrived, Cawnpore would not have fallen, and Sir Henry Lawrence might still be in the land of the living. The rebels only grew bold with impunity, and took care not to brave our vengeance until they had ceased to dread our power.

The merchants, the traders, and the French residents assembled at their separate places

of meeting within a few days of the outbreak and offered their services to the Government, and in each case their offers were declined, but they were told they might be useful as special constables, to which end the Superintendent of Police was authorised to serve out a sufficient number of bludgeons. The Trades Deputation was told on the 25th May, that "the forces at the command of Government were enough to put down all opposition. They have now," said the Home Secretary, Mr. Cecil Beadon, "been brought to bear on the men of the mutinous regiments who are assembled at Delhi, and the Governor General in Council confidently expects that in a few days the mutiny will be entirely suppressed, tranquillity again established, and condign punishment inflicted upon those who have disturbed the public peace," again, on the 5th June, His Lordship wrote to the Court of Directors as follows—"It is our confident hope, that by next Mail we shall have it in our power to report to your Honorable Court, that signal retribution has been inflicted on the mutineers and rebels at Delhi, and that the immediate result has been, the perceptible tendency in all the districts to return at no distant period to quiet and good order." Nine days later, and the Governor General had been roused from his sleep at midnight, to sign an order for the disarming of every native soldier within sixteen miles of Calcutta, including a regiment whose fidelity he had proclaimed in General Orders as unimpeachable. He had gagged the Press, given reluctant sanction to the enrolment of volunteers, and been obliged to admit by his acts, that the Queen's dominion was in peril. Still there was an utter want of that sympathy with the throbbings of the popular heart which was so needful and so earnestly looked for. Regiment after Regiment landed and passed through Calcutta on their way to the burning plains of the North West, and whereas the citizens, who with swelling throats and moist eyes gazed upon them, would have lodged them in palaces and fed them like princes, Lord Canning never gave them a word of welcome, or a token of his interest in their welfare. A politic Governor General in such circumstances, would have done his utmost to exalt their worth in the eyes of the public at large. He would have proudly exhibited them to the gaze of the native population, surrounded by all that could impress upon the excitable Eastern imagination the sense of resistless

force and audacity. What elements of power and popularity were grouped around him at that eventful period ! The strength of the soldier, the counsels of men grown grey in the East, the wealth of the mercantile classes, the energy of youth and mature manhood. But all were equally unheeded, and in a few weeks the enemy most dreaded by Europeans in India was pointed at as the occupant of Government House in Calcutta. No victory over rebels would have been hailed with more intense satisfaction, than an order from England announcing the recall of the Governor General.

The erroneous statements made to the Home Government with regard to the extent and character of the mutiny, were of great service to the personal interests of the Governor General, but they exercised a deplorable effect upon the welfare both of England and India. When the first accounts reached England, the Opposition in both Houses of Parliament made the condition of India a party question, and as a matter of course, accused Lord Palmerston of having neglected to provide efficient means of maintaining the authority of the Queen, but the Cabinet was armed with the despatches of Lord Canning, who described what had taken place as a mere *emeute*, which he was quite strong enough to put down. Repeated discussions took place upon Indian affairs, but by the time the actual truth found its way to the public ear, the Government and the *Times* newspaper were thoroughly committed to a defence of his policy. To throw him overboard then would have been an act of political suicide, and no ministers like to take the advice of Cato in that respect. The *Times* had championed his cause with the monied interest, and was bound to uphold him at all hazards. It had begun by asserting that a loan of three or four millions and reinforcements of ten thousand men were ample for all the wants of India, and as the evident dangers deepened, and the demand for help, both in men and in money, grew more pressing, it still sought to find consolations for the City, and excuses for Calcutta. When the Conservatives obtained power, in March 1858, they were sufficiently anxious to displace Lord Canning, but pretext was less difficult than substitution. Reasons for his recall were plentiful enough, but a statesman of sufficient weight to replace him was not to be found. To send out a new man was not to be thought of in the existing

temper of the nation. Lord Dalhousie like his policy was crumbling away piecemeal, and the Earl of Ellenborough had neither the confidence of Parliament nor of the Public. The latter therefore went to the Board of Control, and whilst in that post, indited two remarkable despatches to the Governor General. The first, dated in March 1858, instructed him to apply to the captured rebels of Oude, the rules which govern the disposal of prisoners of war in ordinary cases, except where they had been guilty of acts foreign to the practice of legitimate warfare. It requested Lord Canning to issue an amnesty, which excepting by name the principal leaders, should leave a door open for the multitude to escape, and thus rescue a brave and high spirited race from despair. But it was distinctly laid down that conquest must precede clemency, and proclamations only be relied upon when the reign of order was assured. Not many days after this letter was sent from the India House, the order of the Governor General confiscating the whole soil of Oude was received in England, and created a profound impression to his disadvantage. It could not fail to be seen, that as a measure of severity it was equally unparalleled and undeserved. The worst acts of a government or an aristocracy had never in modern days entailed the ruin of an entire nation, and it was felt that even if all had been rebels and traitors to England, it was neither just nor politic to take away the whole means of millions by a stroke of the pen. Nothing could possibly have saved Lord Canning from the natural consequence of a policy so unwise and tyrannical, but before the Whigs were compelled to announce their choice between leaving him to his enemies, or acquiescing in their continued exclusion from office, he was rescued by a blunder, such as politicians never forgive, on the part of Lord Ellenborough. With the entire approval of his colleagues he forwarded a Despatch to India commanding the instant recall of the Oude proclamation, and denounced with all the fiery energy of his nature, the principles which it enunciated. "Other conquerors," said the President of the India Board,

"When they have succeeded in overcoming resistance, have excepted a few persons as still deserving of punishment, but have, with a generous policy, extended their clemency to the great body of the people.

You have acted upon a different principle. You have reserved a few as deserving of special

favour, and you have struck, with what they will feel as the severest of punishment, the mass of the inhabitants of the country.

We cannot but think that the precedents from which you have departed will appear to have been conceived in a spirit of wisdom superior to that which appears in the precedent you have made.

We desire that you will mitigate in practice the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation you have issued against the landholders of Oude.

We desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people; there cannot be contentment where there is a general confiscation.

Government cannot long be maintained by any force in a country where the whole people is rendered hostile, by a sense of wrong; and, if it were possible so to maintain it, it would not be a consummation to be desired."

Scornful as was the language of the rebuke, it was deemed not too harsh for the occasion, but the author of it had communicated it to the House of Commons, in reply to a request made by Mr. Bright for information on the subject of the proclamation. The Whigs eagerly fastened upon this departure from the rules of office. The Court of Directors, then in *articulo mortis*, and only anxious how to gain time, swelled the cry against what was stated to be an unjustifiable attempt to degrade Lord Canning in the estimation of the people of India, and the Conservative Ministry saw itself threatened with a damaging vote in the Lower House, which it naturally wished to avoid. In this posture of affairs, Lord Ellenborough immolated himself to save his colleagues. He announced the fact of his resignation at the close of a speech, in which he stated, that Sir James Outram had from the first earnestly deprecated the policy of Lord Canning with regard to the people of Oude, and refused to assist in carrying it out, and he wound up his vindication, by an allusion to the mode in which he had dealt with the Ameers of Scinde. "I struck down the rulers of that country, because they had betrayed and insulted us, but I secured to the people the undisturbed possession of their properties, and I left to every man his home. Have not the results justified my policy?" The assembled peers by their votes answered the question in the affirmative, but the ministry was deprived of one of its ablest men, and the opposition saw that their own hour of triumph was fast approaching. Lord Canning as advised therefore

stood fast in Calcutta, but his friends at home, though they rescued him from a recall were obliged to take the same view of his conduct. The proclamation became a dead letter. The inhabitants of Oude were suffered to enter into possession of their estates and holdings, and the day came when in the supposed interest of the Empire, the Chief Justice of Bengal protested in the Legislative Council, against the reckless and illegal alienation of the crown lands by the Viceroy. Later still, the public witnessed the wholesale creation of a territorial aristocracy, owing their fiefs almost entirely to the liberality of Government and bound by no other ties than those of gratitude and loyalty. The pendulum had swung as usual backwards, and the extreme of severity was succeeded by the utmost latitude of indulgence. Reduced from nobles to beggars and from poverty elevated again to power and wealth, the Talookdars of Oude must fain respect our power, if they have no liking for our dominion.

That the total misapprehension of the crisis was the source of infinite mischief to the State, is beyond question. Had the accounts sent home in May and June prepared the Ministry for the task which the public at large in Calcutta and elsewhere, saw was before them from the commencement of the mutiny, a force would have been despatched overland strong enough to trample out the rebellion in the cold weather of 1857-58. We could hardly expect the Queen's Government to discredit the Queen's chief representative, but though they were blamed for sending the relieving Army round the Cape, the readiness with which they met the vast and appalling requisitions of 1858-59 show that it was solely from want of proper information that they sent out an Army in dribblets, and allowed the national *prestige* to be destroyed for a season, the credit of the Indian Government to be almost annihilated, and the whole fabric of Eastern administration in its highest departments, to drift helplessly towards insolvency and utter ruin. The difference in the amount of knowledge of current affairs prevailing in London and Calcutta, fully accounts for the wide divergence of politicians and the public, with regard to the causes of events, and the character of the men who were supposed to influence them. Parliament and the Press in England looked upon the massacre of Cawnpore for example, as an unavoidable calamity, but men out here,

knew that if the Ghoorkas had not been ordered back on the occasion of their first descent from the Hills, they would have reached Cawnpore in time to rescue its helpless garrison and that without disturbing in the least whatever plan of military operations had been resolved upon in Calcutta. They had that most bitter of all feelings to endure—the sense of burning indignation which takes possession of the mind, when advice that has been scorned is adopted at last, but out of season. With an ungracious admission of the value of such aid they were allowed in mid-June to serve as armed volunteers. They saw a handful of Europeans fight their way to Cawnpore, too late to succour but not too few to avenge. They heard that the Ghoorkas had been requested to retrace their steps, when Wheeler and Lawrence had passed away. They had asked that the Sepoys at Dinapore should be disarmed, when such a measure could have been carried out effectually, but the suggestion was coldly rejected, to be acted upon later with inefficient means, to the temporary ruin of a province and the loss of many of their bravest countrymen. The principles which they had advocated, and the line of policy which they recommended with almost perfect unanimity, were carried out by the great statesman who ruled the Punjab, and who *alone* saved India. They were told by Lord Canning's friends at home, that the fierce animosity displayed towards him in Calcutta, had its origin in the resistance which he offered to their brutal cries for vengeance upon the mutineers, when they knew that it was *his* weakness that provoked the crimes of the Sepoys, and *his* orders that led to the indiscriminate slaughter in many cases of the innocent with the guilty. Commissions were given in June—'57, under the authority of Government, for the punishment of rebels, to men, who in some instances did not take the trouble even to record the names or alleged crimes of the people whom they executed. The Sepoy who deserted with impunity at Barrackpore was hung without mercy for that very offence at Benares, and again, when the hands of his comrades were red with the foulest murders, they were withdrawn from the grasp of justice. Excesses were committed in the name of the law which no Government would tolerate, the occurrence and the impunity being equally due to the absence of all restraint upon the European, and the want of any protection

for the Native. What respect could possibly be entertained for authority calling itself "Supreme," which was disobeyed in every instance of vital concernment by the only powerful subordinate of the Governor General? Whilst the latter was practising in Bengal his rules for enforcing an equality of treatment in the cases of Englishmen and Asiatics, Lawrence in the Punjab was making the broadest distinctions between Sikhs and Hindoostanees. So far from allowing that White and Black were wholly alike, he was engaged in teaching the far wiser doctrine, that one class of Natives might be thoroughly relied upon, whilst another were false to their hearts core. From the day when the first corps of Sepoys revolted, he placed every Hindoostanee civil or military in the ranks of the Suspected. Their offices and their arms were given to strangers, and whilst Lord Canning was conciliating at Calcutta, Lawrence was coercing at Lahore. Every means were devised in the one case to efface that belief in the superiority of the European, which has given us the dominion of the East, in the other the millions were taught that the Englishman was the natural lord of the dusky races, and that whatever menaced his safety or power must be got rid of. And so Brahmin and Rajpoot were turned adrift, and the Sepoy was only allowed to live on the condition of absolute immobility. If he strayed from his lines he was shot down as an outlaw. The Sikh hated the Sepoy as the bloodhound hates the whip that keeps him in subjection. When the reliefs of 1850 were marching to the Punjab, it was the practice of the latter to taunt the disbanded and wandering relics of the Khalsa with their recent defeats, and it was sufficient to look at the convulsed and working features of the Sikhs on such occasions, to be convinced of the mortal hatred which they bore to our mercenaries. "Dogs," they would say or scream, in answer to the jibes of the Sepoys, "let the English but stand aside, and meet us on the plain four to one, then see what ground you will have for boasting." Here was the raw material of an army which might be made second only to our countrymen in all that pertained to a reputation for skill, hardihood, and valour, and it was made the most of. Vengeance and the spoil of Delhi were inducements which stirred the Sikh nature to its depths. To

fight by the side of the Englishman was to be invincible and they hastened in crowds to be enlisted. How the experiment prospered is a tale that need not again be told in these columns. It is a part of the world's history, a lesson for all time, and the man to whom we owe it, will take his place in that muster roll which includes the greatest and wisest of all ages and races of mankind.

And the contrast between the force that ruled the tides at Lahore and the leaf that floated helplessly on the waters at Calcutta, was just as striking with reference to monetary as to military matters. Sir John Lawrence not merely created an army but improvised as well the means of maintaining it. Whilst Lord Canning was fruitlessly bidding for the support of those Bengal Baboos who lavished upon him a few days since such boundless wealth of praise, the ruler of the Punjab was supplying his wants from the coffers of independent Rajahs, and merchants who had scarcely lived under his government long enough to appreciate all its advantages. His Lordship haggled about terms till his market was spoiled. The holders of four per cent paper were first tempted to subscribe on the 20th July to the open five per cent loan, by the offer of giving them certificates on payment of one half in cash, and the other half in paper, and this bait not proving effectual, the offer was extended to the holders of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ bonds, who could have five per cent paper in exchange for two rupees in notes, to one in cash, in the first instance, and two rupees in notes, to three in cash in the second. Still the Baboos declined to part with their coin, and on the 8th September, three days after the passing of the Arms Act, which placed the European and the Bengallee on the same footing with regard to the right to carry arms, and made the possession of an unlicensed gun by the former a punishable offence, the four per cents were at a discount of 25 to 27, and the open fives stood at Rs. 88—9. The grateful as well as the fighting Baboo was at that date a myth.

But we must pass on to the consideration of the Gagging Act. From the days of Lord Protector Cromwell to those of Governor-General Canning, the influence of newspapers has been acknowledged if not at all times respected, and the mighty statesman first mentioned, to whom we owe perhaps the invention of *leading articles*, "worked

the Press" effectually in his contest with royalty. From the vendors of Pills to the makers of Constitutions, men who have a purpose to serve, and a head to devise the means of advancing it, know how to turn to their use the facilities afforded by a free Press. In an advanced state of civilization, a certain excellence of mechanical arrangement, and much literary ability are requisite to obtain the means of influencing men's minds, but amongst rude communities but little attention need be paid to paper or type, and less to excellence of composition. To cloud or enlighten reason, to strengthen or dissipate prejudices, is a task which varies considerably in point of difficulty when undertaken in different latitudes, but if the subjects treated are of surpassing interest, and the literary workman understands his business, he will manage to obtain an audience whether in the Punjab or the metropolis of India. Sir John Lawrence understood this state of things, but Lord Canning was unhappily ignorant upon the subject. Placed in circumstances precisely similar in all respects, the one saw in the Press a weapon, the other a danger. The one bent it to serve his ends, the other, unwilling or unable to use it was intent only upon breaking it, and with a ludicrous consistency, he recognised between English and Asiatic journalism or between one newspaper and another, not the slightest shade of difference or value. We will let the opportunity pass of vindicating the Press, English and Native, as it existed in 1857, and merely remark, that if the latter had exercised a seditious influence upon the Asiatic mind previous to the Sepoy Revolt, Government had wholly failed to recognise the fact, seeing that so far from dreaming that a rebellion had been planned, they denied that even a general mutiny was on foot. If they had discovered traces of a treasonable design in the writings of any portion of the Press, they were not only foolish as rulers, but traitorous as subjects, for beyond all question they spoke and acted at the outset as if nothing had occurred to put the general peace in peril. And if the Native papers were not attacking the Queen's Government, it is certain that English journals were not assailing the interests of Native princes. The work of Annexation was complete, and wherever it had been carried out, the journalist was an accomplice only and not a principal. The robbery of nations, as politicians of a certain school would term it, was always

effected by viceroys and generals, and if an editor approved of the business, he could merely

“Swell the triumph”

with but little chance that either himself or his immediate friends, would

“Partake the gale.”

The last Governor General had deposed the last king in India. Oude had been swallowed at a single meal, but the repast was a full one, and even the British lion requires time for digestion. Between the departure of Lord Dalhousie and the outburst of May 1857, nothing had been done and very little said that could cause alarm to the most wealthy, or the most timid of our allies, and not a man of them we dare venture to say, ever dreamed that he could derive help from a Native journal, or receive damage from an English newspaper in a war with the Government of the East India Company.

Lord Canning however must be assumed to have thought otherwise, for on the 13th of June 1857, he came down to the Legislative Council and proposed the instant enactment of a law which placed the Press both European and Native, under a control more thoroughly despotic, than that which sufficed to stifle the free utterance of thought in France under the reign of Louis Napoleon. The speech in which he introduced the measure is too lengthy to be quoted on the present occasion, and we had better content ourselves with extracting a few sentences with regard to it from the speech of Lord Ellenborough, when the Press law was brought under the view in the House of Peers. No more adverse witness can be cited by a journalist, than the son of that Lord Chief Justice whose judicial career is memorable only for the war which he waged with the Press. His successor inherited his prejudices as well as his peerage, and entertains a sovereign contempt for newspaper writers, from whose hostility he has suffered as much as his father did half a century ago. The present Lord Ellenborough would, we believe, deal with our tribe after a more summary fashion than that which prevailed in the days of his youth. Rather than bring a recalcitrant editor to the bar of a civil tribunal, he would much prefer handing him over to a corporal's guard, with instructions to “stop his noise” either by the use of butt or bar-

rel. His favorite paper whilst Governor General was the *Exchange Gazette*, a choice not over complimentary, it will be admitted to the Calcutta Press, and yet with such antecedents and opinions, he could not help expressing his surprise, that no attempt had been made by Lord Canning to obtain if possible, the willing co-operation of the newspapers in furthering his plans of action. “My Lords,” said he :—

“I think nothing could be more proper if the Government, entering into confidential communications with the editors of all those newspapers published at Calcutta, had distinctly stated their views as to the danger of discussion upon particular topics in a particular sense, and had ascertained whether the editors were willing to come into some arrangement respecting the publication of the newspapers, distinctly intimating that if those gentlemen were not disposed to acquiesce in the suggestion the Government would take some course by way of legislation on the subject. No such communication took place.”

And again, with regard to the extraordinary statement, that no distinction could possibly be made between the European and the Native Press, his remarks are equally sound and judicious.

“The Governor-General said, when he imposed the law, that it was directed against the native press ; that the native press had published that which was injurious to the State ; that he could not say the same of the English press ; but that he could not see any solid standing-ground on which a line might be drawn marking out the difference between one and the other. That again is following out the insane principle of treating in India—and especially at the present time—natives and Europeans upon the same footing. (Cheers.) But, although the Governor-General may not have been able to find this solid standing ground, it seems he has found in the native press a stepping stone from which to direct his weapons against the press both in India and in this country. Suppose that two persons one a native and the other an Englishman, were taken before a magistrate in India, charged with offences. Suppose the proof against the native was decisive while that against the Englishman was extremely slight, and that the judge should say to the native, ‘Pandy,’—that is what we call the native now—‘you are convicted upon the clearest evidence ; your offence is of the deepest die ; I cannot say the same of the Englishman whose offence is very light, but I have no solid standing ground on which a line may be drawn ; I cannot make any distinction between you, and therefore you must both be subject to the same punishment’ Can you call that justice ? Do you think

that the Europeans with all their pride from the recollection of the liberties they enjoyed in their own country would suffer that?"

We cannot find room for the passages in which Lord Ellenborough exposed the complete inutility of the Gagging Act, as a measure of precaution against the dissemination of intelligence that might be useful to the rebels, but must need quote the closing sentences, in which the whole pith of the matter, as regarded the character of Lord Canning's policy, and the reason of the dislike in which he was held is disclosed. They leave nothing further to be said on that part of the subject.

"Of Lord Canning I have said nothing. I have made no attack upon him. (Hear hear.) Before the breaking out of the insurrection Lord Canning was personally extremely popular. He laid himself out to obtain popularity and he succeeded. Every one did him the justice to say that he was a conscientious hard-working man, and I believe no jobber—a wonderful merit in that country—(a laugh),—and really did all he could to perform the duties of Governor General. That was the general impression. My own belief is that no man ever went out to India with a more sincere desire to do his duty to the country which he had to govern; but there can be no doubt that at the present moment he has not the confidence either of the people of Calcutta or of the Europeans generally throughout India. I attribute that to this that he has attempted to do that which has failed every where and which never can succeed; he has attempted to carry on his government in spirit opposed to the feelings of all those on whom he could depend for support."

The course of our narrative brings us to the story of the first use which the Governor General made of the power which had been entrusted to him to overawe the Press, and the circumstance that the present writer was the journalist upon whom he made his maiden assault, affords no reason why it should not be told in these columns, though it warns the public to receive our remarks, *quantum valeat*. We aim at affording them the means of estimating rightly both the capacity and the character of Lord Canning as a statesman, and no act of his life furnishes a better clue to either than his dealings with the *Friend of India*. That journal in 1857 as at this moment, was at the head of the Indian Press both for circulation and influence, and had always supported with a single exception, the general policy of successive Indian administrations. It had the rare good fortune of being conducted for many years by a writer pro-

foundly versed in the history and politics of the country, and then came under the management of one scarcely less learned, and master of a style singularly brilliant and fascinating. As the reputed organ of Government so far as such a paper could be said to exist in India, it was bound in a manner to exhibit at all times a leaning to the official view of things, and when the present editor of this journal, who had given up as he thought for ever all connection with the Press, consented to take charge of it till September 1857, it was of course with the clearest understanding, that no essential change would be made in the tone of its articles. Personal feeling on that subject was quite out of the question, and the Viceroy if not exactly popular had no enemies in Calcutta. Such was the state of affairs so far as the *Friend of India* was concerned, when the *Gazette* of the 14th of June announced that for a twelve month from that date, every newspaper in India was entirely at the mercy of the Government of India and its subordinates in the other Presidencies. Not a word of complaint had been uttered against the Press, not a single warning was given of an impending blow which was to place not merely honesty and intellect at the feet of Lord Canning and his deputies, but the property which it had taxed the labours of years, the resources of capital, and the best energies of many relays of editors to create. The blow was so wholly unexpected and so undeserved, that people at first could hardly realise the fact that it had been given, but surprise gave way to a feeling of almost universal indignation, when such despotism was found to be allied to such weakness. And the public were soon made aware that the law would not be allowed to remain a dead letter. On the 25th of June, twelve days after the passing of the Act, the *Friend of India* was "warned,"—the legal preliminary to extinction,—for having in an article entitled "*The Centenary of Plassey*" published the following paragraphs:—

"It may also be alleged against us that we have deposed the Kings, and ruined the nobles of India, but why should the world sigh over that result? Monarchs who always took the wages, but seldom performed the work of Government, and aristocrats who looked upon authority as a personal right, and have never been able to comprehend what is meant by the sovereignty of the people, are surely better out of the way.

No Englishmen in these days deplores the wars of the Roses, and would like to see the Cliffords and Warwicks restored again to life. France bears with calmness the loss of her old nobility; Europe at large makes steady contributions to the list of kings out of employment. Had princes and rajahs in Hindustan been worth conserving they would have retained their titles and power. The class speedily dies out in the natural course of mortality, and it is not for the benefit of society that it should be renewed.

Array the evil against the acknowledged good : weigh the broken pledges, the ruined families, the impoverished ryots, the imperfect justice, against the missionary and the schoolmaster, the railway and the steam engine, the abolition of Suttee, and the destruction of the Thugs and declare in which scale the balance lies ! For every anna that we have taken from the noble we have returned a rupee to the trader. We have saved more lives in peace, than we have sacrificed in war. We have committed many blunders and crimes ; wrought evil by premeditation and good by instinct, but when all is summed up, the award must be in our favour. And with the passing away of the present cloud, there will dawn a brighter day both for England and India. We shall strengthen at the same time our hold upon the soil and upon the hearts of the people ; tighten the bonds of conquest and of mutual interest. The land must be thrown open to the capital and enterprise of Europe ; the ryot lifted by degrees out of his misery, and made to feel that he is a man if not a brother, and everywhere heaven's gifts of climate and circumstance made the most of. The first Centenary of Plassey was ushered in by the revolt of the native army, the second may be celebrated in Bengal by a respected Government, and a Christian population."

When our readers have thoroughly satisfied themselves that they have mastered the meaning of the two paragraphs quoted ; hidden and apparent, we invite them to peruse with equal deliberation, the text of the "warning" which follows :—

"From CECIL BEADON, Esq., Secretary to the Govt. of India, to A. R. YOUNG, Esq., Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

Dated the 29th June, 1857.

SIR,—The attention of the Governor General in Council has been given to the first leading article headed, 'The Centenary of Plassey' which ap-

peared in the *Friend of India* of the 25th inst. and especially to the two last paragraphs which in the judgment of His Lordship in Council are fraught with mischief and calculated at the present time to spread disaffection towards the British Government both among its native subjects and among dependent and allied States.

The article in question infringes every one of the three conditions upon which licenses to keep a printing Press are now to be granted. It tends to excite disaffection towards the British Government amongst great masses of the people ; it tends to create alarm and suspicion among the Hindoo and Mahomedan population of intended interference by Government with their Religion ; and it tends to weaken the friendship towards the Government of Native Princes Chiefs and States in dependance upon and alliance with it.

Whatever the intentions of the writer may have been, the tendency of the article is as above described, and the publication of such remarks even if innocent and admissible in ordinary times, is now under the critical circumstances which rendered the passing of Act No. 15 of 1857 necessary, most dangerous not only to the Government but to the lives of all Europeans in the Provinces not living under the close protection of British bayonets.

I am directed therefore to request that with the permission of the Lieut. Governor the views of the Government of India may be communicated to the Publisher of the *Friend of India*, and that he may be warned that the repetition of remarks of this dangerous nature will be followed by the withdrawal of his License.

The Governor General in Council has no intention of interfering with the fair discussion of public measures, but he cannot now permit the circulation in India of writings so framed as to excite popular disaffection."

A wrong word made use of after the receipt of this missive, exposed the paper to absolute ruin. It was uttered, in the shape of a protest against the hypocrisy of the pretence put forward for silencing the writer, but before it appeared, he had placed his resignation in the hands of the agents of the absent proprietors, feeling assured that the Governor General would either abolish the Editor or the journal. At the next meeting of Council after the issuing of the following number, Lord Canning laid it on the table, in order that action might be taken on the subject, but he was officially informed that the offending individual had retired from the contest. Justice and law were therefore vindicated, but something was due to dignity, and his Lordship informed the public next day through the medium of the *Calcutta Gazette*, that but for

the assurances that had been given to him that the *Friend of India* would in future be conducted in a proper manner he should have felt it his duty to suppress it. In Madras that fate really overtook a paper that had the hardihood to reprint the *Centenary of Plassey*. In Arracan, the use of the lithographic presses employed to print the Circulars of Rice Merchants were prohibited as being dangerous to the State, and in Calcutta, the Commissioner of Police at the head of a sufficient force, stormed at midnight the printing office of a native editor, who was subsequently tried in the Supreme Court, and fined one rupee. In time the rightful editor of the *Friend of India* came back to his post, and was succeeded in turn by an able man, but no one ever again associated it with the advocacy of Government measures. A reputation for honesty and insight was above all other considerations, and that it was felt, could not be maintained, if the journal supported the administration of Lord Canning.

We should fail to do justice to this important branch of the present inquiry, if we neglected to point out that with regard to the treatment of the Press, the conduct of Sir John Lawrence was exactly the reverse of that of the present Governor General. Types were the teeth of this modern Cadmus, he sowed them everywhere and reaped his abundant crops of armed men. All day and night busy compositors plied their tasks. In bazaar and village the Shroff and the Bunneah read out to the people stories of the mutiny, and how the traitor Sepoys were equally intent upon getting the upper hand of the Company Bahadoor, and the men of the Punjab. The horrors of Lucknow, the proclamations of the King of Delhi which shadowed forth the coming supremacy of the hated Mussulmans, and the tales of captive Sikhs, thrust forth from the rebel camps with their noses and ears fastened round their necks, by way of gage of battle to their brothers—passed from hand to hand, and strengthened the belief so sedulously fostered, that the English and the Sikh were bound by the ties of a common cause. We heard, by way of commentary on the wisdom of Lawrence, that the Guides marched 750 miles at the rate of more than 50 miles a day, that the Sikhs escorted our siege trains and treasure chests, that 30,000 Sepoys were rendered harmless in the Punjab, and that the best and bravest of the

Khalsa stood shoulder to shoulder with us at Delhi and Lucknow. Had the population of the Punjab not been imbued with a spirit of thorough antagonism to the Hindoostanees, and a belief in the resistless strength of England, it is difficult to believe that in October 1857, Lawrence would have been a conqueror at Lahore, and Lord Canning a resident in Calcutta. What precise share the Press had in the matter cannot be determined. Enough to say that in the midst of stirring events it was free, and worked by a thinker and statesman.

We have dwelt at much length upon the Gagging Act, because it was his lordship's own scheme, and owed nothing either to Indian experience or the folly of advisers. It was as weak as tyrannous; as unsuited to the particular crisis as it was false in principle. It created many enemies and no friends, and showed that whatever injury the Viceroy might have received through adopting the advice of others, he had no counsellor worse than his own suggestions. But we must hasten to give an outline of the military operations in which his authority interposed, it being understood that the latter was unknown at Delhi and in the Punjab.

On the 6th December 1857, with the defeat of the Gwalior force and the capture of their guns at Cawnpore, the conflict became narrowed to the Eastern banks of the Ganges. Lord Clyde wished to collect his troops at that point for the final reduction of Oude, whilst the columns of Brigadiers Penny, Jones, and Seaton, who were watching the Ganges to the north, would have co-operated with him, and struck at Rohilcund simultaneously with his attack upon Oude, by which combination the rebels whether flying before Clyde, or from our troops moving downwards from Bareilly and Shajehanpore would have been taken in front and rear. The Commander-in-Chief, however, was sent on a fruitless *promenade militaire* of two hundred and fifty miles, with the assumed object of frightening the Rajah of Futteghur into flight, and clearing the western bank of the Ganges of the rebels. The means were altogether out of proportion to the object, which might have been accomplished by Sir Thomas Seaton's column, which had on two occasions beaten the Rajah's troops, had an excuse not been wanted for a movement as senseless, as it might have proved disastrous, had the rebels, forsaking Luck-

now, placed themselves between the forces of Lord Clyde and the small garrison left at Cawnpore. Here in idleness—we speak of Futtehghur—the troops sent from Great Britain were permitted to waste weeks and months in a standing camp, or upon a needless march, when every hour lost at that juncture was honor, prestige, and life sacrificed and thrown away. Power sufficient to have crushed half India was wasted and made of no avail, hid away in tents, out of sight of the foe, or frittered away upon guards to protect the property of the inhabitants of a town who stood by and saw, if they did not assist at, the massacre of our country women and their children, whilst the Viceroy draughted proclamations against the time when they might be issued, if not obeyed, and displayed that admirable composure so often commented upon and which wanted nothing but sense to make it respectable. Few save those thus condemned to sit with folded hands when every instinct, whether of self-preservation or revenge, which the horrors of 1857 may explain if they cannot justify, loudly called for action, can understand the feelings of shame and anger that filled at that time the minds of our soldiers. Even at Calcutta men deprecated the inactivity that tended to strengthen the enemy, by permitting them to recover from defeat, without being necessary to the prosecution of the war in so far as we were concerned. It was asked if another hot weather campaign was essentially necessary to the *programme* of a war which halted at the moment we were strongest, and best able to press it with vigour, and opinion wrongly blamed those for supineness whose only fault was an over rigid obedience to commands from one who never issued an order that he did not recall, or fail to enforce it. We have not heart or inclination to count up the loss of blood and money, entailed by the terrible policy of His Lordship at that time. We do not even ask to know what combinations, what tinkering of king craft, led to the results we deplore, suffice it that through the loss of the winter of 1857-1858, we drifted into the war of 1858-1859. Lord Clyde was we have said, at Cawnpore early in December 1857, after having relieved Lucknow and broken the ranks of the Gwalior contingent, and he again found himself and army back there or moving upon Lucknow, by the end of February, just three months

after he marched away to pitch his tents outside the ruinous cantonments of Futtehghur. Obviously something had gone wrong, whether the fault lay with the actors, that the prompting was indifferent, or the scenic effect not just what it ought to have been, we are not in a position to state, but it did happen—the play proved a decided failure: Talookdars did not come on the stage to pay homage to the British lion, and the repentant Pandey who should have appeared in sackcloth and ashes snapped his fingers in the face of the representative of Great Britain, and laughed consumedly. This was not to be borne. Lord Canning privately draughted a proclamation to which we shall allude hereafter and directed his patient chieftain to advance upon the foe. The deliberate manner in which we charged in at one end of Lucknow and the enemy ran out of the other, by which Oude was flooded and the war entered a new phase, is matter of history. Anything like combined action or a brilliant campaign was denied Lord Clyde by the vexatious delays put upon him at the only season when such movement could have been made with commensurate success. In March it necessarily became a question of marching straight to the goal without further loss of time, and every other consideration was sacrificed to that of the lives of our gallant soldiers, now committed to the fearful sufferings of a hot weather campaign. If ever there was a moment between May 1857 and April 1858, when an honorable and easy solution to the struggle between the British power and the people of Oude was offered to the Governor General, it was when Lucknow fell into our hands and the Oude chiefs and their soldiers were flying, routed and disheartened. An amnesty granted to the rebels with the reoccupation of their capital, would have removed the only excuse for opposition on the part of those who were now fighting not for the King of Delhie, nor for the Prince whose broad lands we trod, but for bare life itself, and who would, we may reasonably infer, have gladly accepted the terms. Circumstances and public opinion in England ultimately compelled his Lordship to stultify himself with regard to a line of policy which would, had it been carried to its natural and inevitable conclusion, have resulted in a war with five millions of men. At least such an offer,

whether accepted or otherwise, would have sounded full of grace and not been unworthy of our power. Harsh by chance, and consistent never, Lord Canning was graciously pleased to issue the following manifesto, on the resumption of Lucknow by the British troops.

The Army of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is in possession of Lucknow, and the City lies at the mercy of the British Government, whose authority it has for nine months rebelliously defied and resisted.

This resistance, begun by a mutinous soldiery has found support from the inhabitants of the City and of the Province of Oude at large. Many who owed their prosperity to the British Government, as well as those who believed themselves aggrieved by it, have joined in this bad cause, and have ranged themselves with the enemies of the State.

They have been guilty of a great crime, and have subjected themselves to a just retribution.

The capital of their country is now once more in the hands of the British Troops. From this day it will be held by a Force which nothing can withstand and the authority of the Government will be carried into every corner of the Province.

The time then has come at which the Right Honorable the Governor General of India deems it right to make known the mode in which the British Government will deal with the Talookdars, Chiefs and Landholders of Oude, and their followers.

The first care of the Governor General will be to reward those who have been steadfast in their allegiance at a time when the authority of the Government was partially overborne, and who have proved this by the support and assistance which they have given to British Officers.

Therefore the Right Honorable the Governor General hereby declares that the Rajas of Balrampur and Punnahar, Rao Buksh of Kutyaree, Kashee Pershad of Sasseree, Jubo Sing of Gopalkera and Chundee Loll of Morawan are henceforward the sole hereditary Proprietors of the Lands which they held when Oude came under British Rule subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them; and that these loyal men will be further rewarded in such manner and to such extent as upon consideration of their merits and their position the Governor General shall determine.

A proportionate measure of reward and honor according to their deserts will be conferred upon others in whose favor like claims may be established to the satisfaction of the Government.

The Governor General further proclaims to the people of Oude that with the above mentioned exceptions the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the British Government which will dispose of that right in such manner as to it may seem fitting.

To those Talookdars, Chiefs and Landholders with their followers who shall make immediate submission to the Chief Commissioner of Oude surrendering their arms and obeying his orders, the Right Honorable the Governor General promises that their lives and honor shall be safe, provided that their hands are not stained with English blood murderously shed. But as regards any further indulgence which may be extended to them and the condition in which they may hereafter be placed they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British Government.

As participation in the murder of English men and English women will exclude those who are guilty of it from all mercy so will those who have protected English lives be specially entitled to consideration and leniency."

Now unless we suppose that the Viceroy of India sent forth this proclamation for the sole purpose of making the British power ridiculous, we must believe that he was prepared if necessary to have recourse to force, unless we further insult his judgment by supposing that he imagined a people of soldiers would meekly submit to the degradation offered to them, and hence it results that if we acquit the statesman of downright incapacity, of threatening that which he had no intention of performing, he will stand convicted of premeditating a course of the most outrageous violence conceivable. One conclusion or the other we must arrive at. If extirpation was intended, assuredly that memorable bit of paper was a warning to every man in Oude to gird on his sword, an invitation to fight to the death, and thus far was impolitic in the extreme, since it banded our enemies together without strengthening us, and placed the war upon an entirely new basis, by making it a struggle for life, home and land. The butchers of Cawnpore were martyred and rendered respectable by his Lordship, and men now freely joined their ranks who hereto had treated them with abhorrence and contempt, deeming this less disgraceful than the submission required of them by the British Government. With December, January and February lost, and all chance of a pacific solution at an end, thanks be to Lord Canning, the campaign and hot weather opened together. It is not our object, nor comes it within the province of a review such as this, to trace the flight of Scindia from his territories, and the seizure of his capital by insurgents grown bold by our inactivity, to the fatal halt at Futtehghur, although we should

have no difficulty in doing so. Sir Hugh Rose met and overcame the danger as it gathered and involved Calpee, Gwalior, and Jhansie in its embrace, whilst Lugard about Arrah and Seaton at Etawah fought and kept it under. The indecision of three months was mistaken for weakness by the enemy and everywhere revolt cropped up and took courage. Alas the policy of those days is traced in characters of English blood written over two-thirds of Rohilcund, some part of Oude, and much elsewhere, not shed in open combat, but wasted under the fiery rays and burning winds of an eastern sun, amid dusty and arid plains, or by the roadside left for record, imperishable, and never to be forgotten by those who saw the gallant fellows sink and die by hundreds without a word against him who had assigned them a task in May and June which might have been better done in January and February, certainly at a far less cost. Let a return be called for of those of our soldiers who died natural deaths in the field between April and September 1858 in Oude and Rohilcund, and let it accompany our next address to Viscount Canning, bound in richest vellum and inscribed *A people's gratitude*, that future governors may learn the value of Public opinion in India, and know how best they may win its approbation.

Lord Canning is said to have restored peace to India, and to leave its finances in a healthy condition. These are benefits of undoubted value, but we surely did not receive them from his lordship, and they have been fully paid for. If you sit perfectly still and watch only, it is astonishing to see how much work will be done without you. "Time and I against any other two," said the energetic man of old, but the terms of that frequent partnership with the veteran *Chronos*, may differ widely in certain cases. The task achieved may be done *by* you, *with* you, or *without* you, and the world is sometimes quite ignorant of, and in other instances wilfully blind to, the apportionment of labor between the members of the firm. Scattered over the face of the land, we see innumerable graves, freshly made. With the mind's eye we gaze upon many an English homestead, in which the lamp of joy has gone out for ever; and where the eye, aching and dim, has grown accustomed to the gloom; where the memory of bitter suffering is wearing out, and the lone ones feel, that

it would be felt as a cruel insult if we did more than condone the past, with reference to the ruler of British India who is just about to leave us. That we are prosperous and happy by comparison with the years 1857 and 1858 is true, but the fact must not be made the foundation of eulogy. Never did the field of Waterloo yield so magnificently as in the two seasons which immediately followed the great battle.

"How that red rain has made the harvest grow!"

But it will not be said that the crop was worth the manure. If results only are to be looked at, and no question of cost to be entertained, then a Lloyd of Dinapore ranks with a Napier of Meanee. Reputation is distributed after the manner of a Tontine, where the last surviving shareholder becomes possessed of the aggregate wealth of all the contributors. Recall Lord Canning in 1859, and he dies, not worth a rap, but let him live on as Governor General till 1862, and all that has been bought with fifty millions of borrowed money, and countless lives, is held as belonging to him. May we not, in this instance, call upon a section of the community for a review of judgment?

We neither impute to the late Governor General, recklessness in dealing with the public finances, nor indifference to the growth of the State's obligations, though it is notorious that money was poured out during four years of his administration as if it were water. No one could ever accuse him of jobbing or of profuse outlay upon personal objects. From first to last he has been the unsullied high minded English gentleman, whose honor is without stain, but the pitiful remembrance with which he is associated, is the absolute incapacity displayed when there was so much need of guidance. He was the pilot when the vessel was amongst the breakers, and was not merely ignorant of the rocks and shoals of a strange coast, but shewed through all that time of fearful peril, that he knew not how to manage the helm, or handle the sails. Where he should have controlled he was content to suffer. He worked incessantly but to no good end. A man may make the best use of his faculties, and at the same time the worst use of his opportunities; and where that occurs we are prone to think of an overruling fate. Lord Canning could not have done worse, and yet we dare say that he accomplished all of good that it lay within his strength to achieve. You cannot always

"The glory dies not, and the grief is past,"

have your David when the Philistines set themselves in array of battle.

At the time when Mr. Wilson was sent out as Chancellor of the Indian Exchequer the feeling at home with regard to the state of the country was one of the deepest despondency. When the mutiny was at its height no fears had been entertained with regard to our hold upon India; but when it was found that after the contest had ceased, loan after loan was called for, and swallowed up as soon as received, people shrank with dismay from the prospect of retaining it in the face of an endless deficit. The war was over, and yet we continued to maintain a native army, even larger than that which was kept on foot at the commencement of 1857, in addition to 80,000 Europeans. Casual and exceptional charges to a vast extent threatened to become permanent, and no more reliance could be placed upon the financial than upon the political statements of government. Neither the extent of the evil nor the nature of the remedy for it were known in Calcutta, and the cancer would have been suffered to eat still longer into the vitals of the State, if the Home authorities had not virtually taken the control of monetary affairs out of the hands of the Indian government, and issued the most peremptory orders for the equalization of income and expenditure. That the desired result has been at last attained, is entirely owing to the ability and exertions of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Laing, and Colonel Balfour. These eminent persons are at times heard to speak of the great assistance and support that they received from Lord Canning, and in so doing they merely render him justice. But here as elsewhere his share in matters has not been of a personal but only of a permissive kind. He suffered the good as he suffered the evil. So long as the influences around him were of an unwise and spendthrift character, his administration was in keeping with them, but when the strength shifted to the other side, we saw in him the chief of a band of earnest reformers. Of course it is better that he should acquiesce, as he has heartily done, in the proposals of needful change, but it would have been better still if there had been less occasion for them. The medical man whose well meant efforts have merely aggravated your malady, renders a real service when he permits you to have other advice, and joins in the consultation with good feeling; but if he gets his fees

that is surely enough for him! Since he is not paid for curing, he can hardly expect praise for having stopped short of killing you.

With her Majesty's proclamation, published in November 1858, the East India Company ceased to be, and the Indian army became, *de facto*, an integral portion of the Royal forces. Whether at that time an Amalgamation of the services was in contemplation, or whether a Colonial army under the Queen was all the change proposed, it is impossible to say, and would be idle to inquire. We deal with facts as they lie before us, as they will appear to the future historian long after the actors in the drama we record have made their last bow upon this earthly stage. Let us now pause for one minute to consider the strength and constitution of the Bengal army at the time of its absorption and transfer to the Crown, for it is essentially necessary to remember that we were dealing with an army full of the high feelings which spring from a sense of great services rendered to the State, and not with the *debris* of 100,000 mutinous sepoys. This force had risen to replace that which it had put under foot, a larger and more formidable army had been called into existence by the emergencies of 1857 than that which had passed away—and as such, apart from its services, was entitled to the consideration never refused by a wise government to its soldiers. Both the tone and temper of the European portion of the Bengal troops, still smarting under the disgrace cast upon their service by the mutiny of the Sepoys, and agitated by the idea that every act on the part of the Home government was a slight and blow aimed at the East India Company, might have warned a man more conversant than Lord Canning with human nature, that tact and delicacy in the transfer of these men from one service to the other was absolutely necessary to success. Nothing of the sort was attempted; not a gracious word issued from the mouth of the impassive oracle lying buried within the walls of Government House, and which men had come to recognize by a propriety of language, only excelled by its coldness of heart and want of human sympathy. A few strokes of the pen disposed of the Indian army, and Lord Canning went to breakfast.

Having pointed out the necessity of carefully distinguishing the Bengal Army

of 1858-59, from that of April 1857, we shall briefly notice the services of this force, called into being as if by magic by Sir John Lawrence, when the insurrection first burst over us, and rolled in one huge wave from Berhampore to the Sutledge. Raised from the rough races of the North, it crushed the head of the Hydra before a British soldier landed in India from England (those intended for China came accidentally), bore the brunt of the struggle between May and November 1859, reduced the capital of the Moguls, and overthrew the throne that was to have risen upon the wreck of the British power in India. Its flying columns afterwards, pushing down from the scene of these victories, relieved Agra, marched with Sir Colin Campbell to the relief of Lucknow, fought at Mynpoorie, Allyghur, and beat the troops of the Rajah of Futtehghur within sight almost of its walls. It held India for the Crown between the 18th May 1857 and the time when 80,000 British soldiers were thrown into the country, and order was restored. In a word, it had deserved, as we have before observed, fair and honorable treatment at the hands of the government, and this was denied it. If it be argued that the power of the East India Company was at an end, to which the existence of the Bengal army of 1858-59 is the best contradiction we can offer, then, as there must be two parties to a contract, that between the Court of Directors and Company's soldier was of necessity dissolved and cancelled. If, on the other hand, it can be established that the forces of the East India Company at the time of their compulsory transfer to the Crown, much exceeded their former strength, it may be conceded that they were entitled to the terms accorded to their brother soldiers on the assumption of St. Helena by the Imperial Government. This was all they asked. Instead of anticipating the right these men claimed of volunteering for the new service, by issuing to them the bounty all soldiers are entitled to on re-enlistment, begging the question, in other words, with a few score thousand pounds, and committing them by a generosity the cheapest he could devise, Lord Canning sacrificed two-thirds of a million sterling and lost the services of ten thousand Englishmen. A master at failure, the Governor General on this occasion left the Vis-

count far behind! Of the question of how far the European soldiers of the late Company were or were not entitled to claim as of right the option of re-enlisting into H. M.'s service, we do not pretend to determine upon other than the simple grounds of equity and policy, being well assured that the logic of lawyers, Crown or other, is better suited to the Court than camp, and can never compensate to us for the melancholy sacrifice of independence and public money, which eventuated from the refusal to grant at first as a boon, that which ultimately was extorted from the government as a right. The head of H. M.'s forces in India, Lord Clyde, was too old a soldier, and too practical a man to close his eyes to the danger of treating harshly an army upon the strength of an Act of Parliament, and from the first his Excellency opposed the Viceroy, whilst Lord Palmerston at home gave his opinion most strongly against the Shylock policy of the noble Earl, and then, as usual when the shot was well nigh spent, and discontent had passed into mutiny, the following order (25th June 1859) was issued:—

“The Government is satisfied that the objections of the men are founded, in the case of many of them, on an honest conviction that their rights have been overlooked. This conviction has been strengthened by the expression of opinions from high Authority in England, which naturally have had a powerful effect on the minds of the men. It has been put forward by the men for the most part in a soldier-like and respectful manner, after the first excitement had passed away, consequently upon the orders and warnings of the Commander-in-Chief.

“Such being the case, and it being the desire of the Government of India that there should not be even an appearance of injustice done to any Soldier, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India in Council has determined, with the full concurrence of the Right Hon'ble the Commander-in-Chief, that every Non-Commissioned Officer and Soldier in the three Presidencies who enlisted for the East India Company's Forces, shall, if he desire it, be allowed to take his discharge, under the provisions of the Act for limiting the time of service in the Army,*

*10th and 11th Victoria, chap. 37.

which directs that Soldiers taking their discharge shall be conveyed to England and there finally discharged; and that in the meanwhile they shall continue to be subject to the Mutiny Act and Articles of War.

“Each man will be duly paid up and settled with to the date of his embarkation; from which date,

according to the Regulations of the Local Forces, pay will cease.

"The representations of the men, as recorded by the Courts of Enquiry assembled for this purpose at Meerut and other Stations, will be transmitted for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. But the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council distinctly announces, that he is not authorized to hold out any hope that the Government of Her Majesty will recede from the decision to which it has already come, in regard to re-enlistment and bounty.

"The offer of discharge now determined upon, will be made under arrangements to be ordered by the Commanders-in-Chief respectively at the three Presidencies; and the decision of every man who elects to remain in the Service, is to be entered in the Regimental Records, and will be considered final.

"Men accepting their discharge under this order, will not be permitted to enlist into any Regiment in India, whether of the Line or of Her Majesty's Indian Forces. They will be sent to the Port of embarkation, under the orders of their Excellencies the Commanders-in-Chief in Bengal, Madras and Bombay, and will be provided with passage to England.

Instead of bluntly fathering the error admitted in the opening paragraph of the order, and directing the men to volunteer, the Governor General, "*satisfied that in the case of many of them their rights had been overlooked,*" ordered these men to be paid up, and turned out of the country, that is, those who claimed the right to re-enlist, by which most excellent strategy we were charged with the cost of a man's passage to England in order that a recruiting sergeant might pick him up at Deal or Dover. The order said much too much or much too little. If Lord Canning was guilty of an "oversight"—he tells us he was—why punish Private Brown by sending him to England with a free passage, when all the man asked was the bounty every soldier of a *Queen's Regiment* then received, and to-day receives, on volunteering into a corps remaining in India? What was gained by this course of action unless it was loss of public money and respect for a government that could not stoop to repair an injury done to its soldiers without attempting to be harsh, we find it impossible to discover. Its effect at least was peculiar. The men got more than they asked, whilst the impotent anger which accompanied the gift, assured all classes that it had been extorted, and government paid for this with three quar-

ters of a million sterling, suffered diminished confidence and respect, and ten thousand British soldiers were lost to the State by a line of treatment at first wrong, next false, and lastly weak. These are the Graces who are fated to weave the wreath posterity will yet place upon the brows of the noble lord, or we greatly err. Time forbids our taking more than a glance at the salient points of the disaffection of the Company's British troops, but whilst we have endeavored to show that the Governor General neither met the difficulty in a large, wise, nor liberal spirit, we should regret appearing as the apologists of insubordination under any circumstances whatsoever. A soldier who mutinies because he has a grievance is only a shade better than the man who is mutinous without cause. The degree may not be the same, the crime is, however. The facts are patent to all, belong to a record of the administration of Lord Canning, and as such take their place in these columns.

Permission to acquire land in India by purchase, at first requested as a boon for the private advantage of individuals, but afterwards demanded as a right which the government was bound to concede for the common benefit of all classes, had long been asked for in all parts of the country. More than a dozen years ago, the *Madras Athenæum* laboured earnestly to disseminate a belief that the prosperity of India would never be fully developed until the State ceased to be landlord of the soil, and employing all the funds that it could raise in promoting works of internal improvement, was content to rely upon the sources of revenue which in all other countries form the income of government. As the means of communication between Europe and India became more frequent, English settlers more numerous, and the interest taken in Indian affairs grew more intense and intelligent, it came to be generally acknowledged, that the doctrines of political economy were in the main as applicable to the East as the West, and that if the English planter upon a small scale, and in remote corners, was a blessing to the country, it would be well to multiply the influence and increase the numbers of these pioneers of progress. The idea of farming and landowning on a large scale cropped up from time to time, in the shape of joint stock associations, and occasional grants to civilians and others during the latter days of the Com-

pany's rule, but it was not until Leadenhall Street had been abolished, and a Conservative Ministry found themselves obliged to bid in all quarters for popularity, that Lord Stanley adopted the resolution of offering for sale the whole of the waste lands of India. Here is an extract from his instructions sent out to Lord Canning in December, 1858, just three years before the late Governor General thought proper to carry them into execution.

"There is one class of lands with which the State has power to deal, and is not hampered by any arrangements, formerly existing. I mean lands which are unoccupied and are claimed by the Indian Government. I believe the House will feel that it is most important to open these lands to European colonization. (Hear, hear.) The extent of them is more limited, I believe, than is generally supposed, but in Assam, in the Sunderbuns, in the Neilgherries, they do exist. Hitherto the custom of the Government in India has been to give allotments of these lands upon easy terms for long periods, but those periods have never extended to perpetuity. The great object of those Europeans who apply for these lands we find to be to obtain the fee simple; in fact, to possess them for ever. (Hear, hear.) They are willing to pay a sum down, but they wish to be free from future interference with their rights. That subject was considered here, and the desire was considered to be reasonable, and, if the House will allow me, I will read an extract from a despatch which I will lay upon the table, dated December 22 :—

"In such districts, where large tracts of un-reclaimed land are to be found absolutely at the disposal of the State, rules have already been promulgated under which settlers can obtain allotments on very easy conditions and for long terms of years; but in no case, I apprehend, extending to a grant in perpetuity. In such cases I desire that you will take such steps as may seem to you expedient for the purpose of permitting grantees to commute the annual payments stipulated for under the rules (after a specified period of rent-free occupancy) for a fixed sum per acre, to be paid on possession of the grant. In all other respects, and particularly in regard to the conditions which provide for a certain proportion of the land to be cleared and brought under cultivation within a specified period, the rules will of course remain unaltered."

It was only, however, in certain parts of the country where population was sparse, or jungle unusually heavy, that waste lands could be found, and hence it became neces-

sary to provide as well for the redemption of the land tax in districts permanently settled, by which means the Native cultivators could invest their savings in the purchase of an absolute freehold, and the European capitalists by buying up the interest of both parties, could obtain the land in absolute fee-simple. It was clear that if they confined their operations at the outset to the alienation of so much of the land revenue as would serve to pay off the public debt, government could suffer no hurt. If the man who had to pay Rs. 1000 a year in the shape of tax was the owner of a government bond upon which he was paid Rs. 1000 in the shape of annual interest, in that case if he gave up the bond on condition of living henceforth rent free, both sides were saved trouble, and neither were the worse for the exchange. Lord Stanley therefore further provided that rent might be commuted for ever on payment of twenty years' value, the rate laid down for the guidance of the Calcutta government.

"In Bengal there exists a perpetual settlement by which the landowners are free from all demands except the payment of an annual sum. In such case it is quite clear that there can be no loss to the revenue of the State if these annual payments are commuted for a sum down, and that sum applied to the extinction of debt. The effect of the commutation will be to give to the landholders possession of the land for ever, free from all future charge. In any arrangement of this kind it will be necessary that existing sub-tenures and rights of all descriptions shall be treated with consideration. We have pointed out, in the despatch from which I have already quoted, to the Indian Government, the advantage of this process. We have pointed out the policy of giving a feeling and position of ownership to those who are now, in some sense, tenants of the State. We have indicated the wisdom of giving them material interests in our rule, as by so doing we shall give to the native landowners a direct interest in the permanence of our rule (hear)—because it is clear that where commutation of this kind has taken place and a perpetual exemption from future taxation been given to the landholder, he cannot reasonably expect that such immunity so acquired will be respected by any Government but that with which it has taken place."

To sit on a couple of eggs for three years, and not addle them at last, is perhaps a feat of incubation worth noticing, but one hen of that sort is enough in the poultry yard. We commend the bare fact of the orders

having been issued three years before they were obeyed, to the good natured persons who bestow such eulogiums upon the late Viceroy for the benefits which his "famous Resolutions" have conferred upon the country. The proverb warns us to be just before we are generous. Let us praise Lord Canning by all means, not forgetting, however, what is due to Lord Stanley.

A measure which is undoubtedly due to the retiring Governor General, is the expulsion of the Judges from the Legislative Council, and the enactment by the Imperial Parliament of an absolute despotism in his behalf, as far as the business of making laws is concerned. If his object was to bring the institution of Councils into thorough disrepute, he must be said to have gained his end. The *Canning Conversazioni* have ceased to excite the slightest interest, and if Mr. Ritchie's "statements of objects and reasons" were advertised to be published in the *Gazette* monthly, people would be quite satisfied; they would never think of visiting upon the councillors the blame of an obnoxious act. The poor gentlemen are there as a matter of form, and attend regularly. When the public saw a fortnight since that the Licence tax was taken off without the slightest consultation being had with them, they fathomed the depths of their political degradation.

The key to Lord Canning's character, and to the estimation in which he is held by a large class of persons, is to be found in his Conscientiousness. This quality, always worthy of acknowledgement and respect, may be the crowning virtue of a life spent amongst the obscure crowd of cities, or the quiet haunts of rural existence, but when cherished to a morbid extent, by a statesman who is called upon to act in circumstances of great national peril, it becomes a source of much evil. If Nature, which has to preserve the well-being as well as the life of the universe, were instinct with pity and the fear of doing wrong, the world would die out in a single generation. The tempest that clears the air wrecks the ship. There is no strength but has grown out of weakness, no power that is not born of pain. We press on over graves to the goal.

To know that a Governor General is so fearful of doing injustice, that he weighs with anxious care all that can be said in favor of humble and defenceless interests, is to win for him much admiration, but it

would have been far better for the sake of humanity as well as of Lord Canning, if he had been less scrupulous, and had recognised the truth that the greater law includes the lesser, to which it may appear antagonistic. If the General who is ordered to put down an insurrection with grape shot, refuses to fire, on the ground that his guns are sure to kill some innocent people, his objections will appear sound enough, but surely not wise nor merciful. To work on a large scale and yet do no individual wrong is not possible. The Bhuddist who shrinks from taking the life of the meanest insect, destroys myriads with every draught of water that passes his lips. Each moment he breathes destruction. Lord Canning refused to punish capitally the Quarter Guard of the 34th N. I. who had looked on unmoved whilst their officer was struggling with an assassin, because there were some of the men who would have perhaps willingly obeyed an order to go to his assistance. He would not wrong the loyalty of many good Sepoys by a general disarmament, nor put arms in the hands of Europeans, wrought up to a pitch of excitement, which made every man a hero and relentless. Acknowledging the fact, evident to all but himself from the beginning, that it was a war of races to which they were called, they had accepted the challenge, and meant to enforce in each case the laws which the rebels had made for the government of the contest. The Sepoys had ruled not merely that the death of the fighting man should follow his defeat, but that the same penalty should be extended to all of his kindred and country. As well under such circumstances not to smite at all, as to save. With love and fear at an end, there was no room for pity. The only dominion possible, was a *regime* of Terror. Whoever cares to deny such a position in the abstract, would have been compelled to admit the truth of it in the concrete, for whilst during the year 1857, in the Punjab, the Apostle of Force trampled out every spark of resistance, and ruled,—a King,—Lord Canning in Calcutta was the most helpless of mortals, feared only by Europeans, in whom obedience to a legal master was the strongest of instincts. No rebel felt the hand of the Governor General on his throat; no incapable soldier or civilian acted with the knowledge, that his eye was watching their every movement. And if treason or folly dreaded not to find him a pitiless foe, valour and capacity soon ceased to look to him as

a patron and friend. In time he awarded praise and expressed regret, but always officially and after due deliberation. Neill whom he had not hesitated to supersede in the command of the relieving force, died in the storming of Lucknow, and thus by sheer force of circumstances, had early flowers, such as grew in the Viceroy's garden, strewn over his tomb. But Sir Henry Lawrence had been dead six weeks before the homage of paragraphs in the *Gazette* was paid to him, and we heard of Havelock's fall, by a Government notice published in the newspapers, which said, "all well at the Alumbagh. Sir Henry Havelock died two days since." In all seasons, and at all places—it was the same. An impartial indifference to men was matched with an equal care for opinions and feelings. The soldier fared just as well as his General. There was no complaint of favouritism, no one basked in the sunshine. If it was the cold shade of aristocracy in which they pined, Lord Canning must have imported for his own use the supposed frigidity of the entire Peerage.

It was quite in harmony with a tender regard for life and the morbid conscientiousness of which we have spoken, that the sanguinary Five Acts were passed by the Governor General. When the Sepoy was to all appearance the strongest, and was lapping blood as if it were his nectar, Lord Canning let loose upon him all the forces of law and vengeance. The tiger was in the midst of the flock and he hounded the lion upon him. His impulses and sympathies were those of an English crowd, who when two boys are fighting, always take part with the smallest. To be weak is always to be worthy of succour in his estimation. The strong man will most likely hurt his adversary if he is not interfered with. Questions of provocation or punishment, are matters for after consideration.

To the disadvantage of an imperfect mental organisation, and a temperament which never served as a barometer of the emotions, Lord Canning added a belief in the equality of the European and the Hindoo. This theory, the most foolish of all the notions that infest weak minds, still holds possession of him. When the Gagging Act was passed, in 1857, it was made universal in its operation, on the ground that there could be no real difference between editors who were Englishmen, and editors who were Hindoos. We believe that it is only the existence of some slight

variation in anatomical structure which hinders the gorilla from being included in the human race, and once ranked amongst the varieties of the genus *homo*, Lord Canning would insist upon legislating for him on an equal footing with the Englishman. No pressure or taunts, he would say, could ever induce him to exhibit a preference to one class of her Majesty's subjects as compared with another. We all know how thoroughly he supported the Arms Act upon this very ground, and we must do him the justice to say, that, in spite of argument and remonstrance, he has never flinched from the consequences either of the profession or the practice of his creed. But the true test of honesty is still to come. If the Whig ministry is to survive through the present year, it will try to make room for him, and then we shall see what course he takes with regard to the question of Volunteering in Ireland. That country is a portion of the Queen's ancestral dominions, and was never more loyal than at this moment. As rulers and statesmen, as governors and generals, Irishmen have built up equally with the Anglo-Saxons the glory and greatness of England. They belong to every regiment, they tread the deck of every ship over which floats the red cross of the chief of nations, and yet the men of Ireland, our true brothers in blood and language, are not permitted, in the face of a great national crisis to take up arms, lest danger to the Queen's peace might come of it. It is right to trust London, but not Dublin. You are safe with every clodhopper in Devonshire, every weaver in Lancashire, but beware of the peasants of Tipperary, and the flax-spinners of Belfast. Since loyalty is as virtue, the native of Middlesex is elevated above the denizen of County Down, at least in the estimation of Lord Palmerston. But listen to the description which Macaulay gives of the race with whom the English in India, wherever raised within the confines of the four seas, have been classed in all respects, by Lord Canning. The great historian is speaking of the Hindoo "Nuncomar," and he says, "Of his moral character it is difficult to give a notion to those who are acquainted with human nature only as it appears in our island. What the Italian is to the Englishman, what the Hindoo is to the Italian, what the Bengalee is to other Hindoos, that was Nuncomar to other Bengalees. The physical

“organization of the Bengalee is feeble even to effeminacy. He lives in a constant vapour bath. His pursuits are sedentary, his limbs delicate, his movements languid. During many ages he has been trampled upon by men of bolder and more hardy breeds. Courage, independence, veracity are qualities to which his constitution and his situation are equally unfavourable. His mind bears a singular analogy to his body. It is weak even to helplessness for purposes of manly resistance; but its suppleness and its tact move the children of sterner climates to admiration not unmingled with contempt. All those arts which are the natural defence of the weak are more familiar to this subtle race than to the Ionian of the time of Juvenal; or to the Jew of the dark ages. What the horns are to the buffalo, what the paw is to the tiger, what the sting is to the bee, what beauty, according to the old Greek song, is to woman, deceit is to the Bengalee. Large promises, smooth excuses, elaborate tissues of circumstantial falsehood, chicanery, perjury, forgery are the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the people of the Lower Ganges. All those millions do not furnish one Sepoy to the armies of the Company. But as usurers, as money-changers, as sharp legal practitioners, no class of human beings can bear a comparison with them. With all his softness the Bengalee is by no means placable in his enmities or prone to pity. The pertinacity with which he adheres to his purposes yields only to the immediate pressure of fear. Nor does he lack a certain kind of courage which is often wanting to his masters. To inevitable evils he is sometimes found to oppose a passive fortitude, such as the Stoics attributed to their ideal sage. An European warrior who rushes on a battery of cannon with a loud hurrah, will sometimes shriek under the surgeon's knife and fall into an agony of despair at the sentence of death. But the Bengalee who would see his country overrun, his house laid in ashes, his children murdered or dishonoured, without having the spirit to strike one blow, has yet been known to endure torture with the firmness of Mucius, and to mount the scaffold with the steady step and even pulse of Algernon Sidney.”

The whole of the above is not true; half of it is not false, but a tenth part of the discrepancy between the nature of the Englishman and that of the Bengalee is more than what exists between the inhabitants of the British Isles, and yet we see that arms are permitted to the one island and denied

to the other. We are willing now to believe that Lord Canning is thoroughly sincere in his convictions of the wisdom and justice of treating all alike, but it will do much to fortify our belief if we find him, on reaching home, clamorous for the concession of equal rights to Irishmen as compared with their kindred on the other side of St. George's Channel.

Another side of the equality dogma is likely to produce important consequences to the financial administration of the empire. The Natives have been taught that when they do the same work as Europeans, they are entitled to receive the same rate of pay—a rule which, if it ought to exist at all, must be equally applicable to the soldier and the civil servant of the State. It ignores, altogether the political necessity of maintaining Europeans in the country, and denies the clear right of government to have its work done at the market price of labor. A stipend which affords the barest necessities of life to the white man, is a princely income to a Native of the working classes amongst Hindoos. The latter can walk in the sun and clothe himself respectably for a few rupees annually. He needs no furniture for his house, no costly education for his children. He is living in his own country, amongst his own people, and is far better off on Rs. 50 a month than the European who receives Rs. 200. But Lord Canning has decided, in the teeth of the strongest remonstrances from the heads of the Public Works Department, that young Natives in that branch of the service, who have passed the same examinations as Europeans, shall receive the same rates of salary. The dogma finds a wide and cheerful acceptance; it is already popular with Judges, and will soon take with Sepoys. Why should you, it will reasonably enough be asked, pay only Rs. 7 a month to one man for wearing a red coat and carrying a musket, when you willingly give Rs. 30 to another? The argument that the European soldier is good for something more than guarding treasure chests, and marching to and fro on a parade ground, is in substance similar to that which Colonel Chesney and Colonel Beadle urged, with regard to the comparative worth of European and Native *employés* in the Public Works Department, and if Lord Canning has overruled objections in the one case, may we not expect that a successor would find it easy to dispose of them in the other? The rule is

very large, very benevolent, though more so to officials than tax payers—and quite easy to carry out when a new system of loans can be inaugurated; but when it is in full operation, we advise Europeans to doff their coats and paint their faces. The Bengalee in that case will be master of the situation.

We have only sought to review the leading features of Lord Canning's Indian career, with regard to which opinion is scarcely divided amongst the members of his own race. With a wider range of thought he would have been a great man; with more warmth of feeling he would have been a loveable one. He has many admirers amongst men whose good will is worth striving for, and where he has failed to win adherents, he has always been able to secure respect. But having passed through so many trials, and had the opportunity of bestowing so many rewards, and healing so much of human sufferings, it is absolutely marvellous that no human soul yearns towards him. The late Colonel Baird Smith, a man worthy of all honor, and susceptible in the extreme of kindness and consideration, was rightly judged of both by Lord Canning and Lord Dalhousie, but he spoke in a tone of astonishment, when he told of a cordial greeting which he received from the former, after sending in his last Famine Report. The one nobleman had been accustomed to treat him as a valued friend; when he visited the other he only saw the Governor General. The feelings which both entertained towards him were perhaps

equally cordial, but Lord Dalhousie was in the habit of imparting his likings as well as his prejudices. Not having learned that lesson—if it be one that experience can teach—Lord Canning has not mastered the chief secret of successful statesmanship.

It would have been a grateful task on this occasion, to eulogise rather than condemn, but we had no choice between censure and dishonesty. "Simulation," Bacon tells us, "is but a faint kind of policy or wisdom. For it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart, to know where to tell truth and to do it—therefore it is the weaker sort of politicians that are the greatest dissemblers." And one should hardly be moved, we would add, by the reports of laudatory meetings and the raising of statues. It was the foolish amongst the Israelites of old, of whom it was said, that they "stripped themselves of their golden ornaments and cast them into the fire, and there came out this calf."

Lord Canning was never better described than in those lines in which Macaulay sketches the character of Falkland. "He was indeed a man of great talents and of great virtues, but we apprehend infinitely too fastidious for public life. He did not perceive that in such times as those in which his lot had fallen, the duty of a statesman was to choose the better cause and stand by it, in spite of those excesses by which every cause, however good in itself, will be disgraced. The present evil always seemed to him the worst. He was always going backwards and forwards," and here the resemblance ceases.

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